

Message Text

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16

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9740

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 2380

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT HU

SUBJECT: MORE ON HEGEDUS CASE

REF: (A) BUDAPEST 2308; (B) BUDAPEST 2379

1. EMBASSY HAS LEARNED FROM RELIABLE SOURCE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING HEGEDUS CASE. ACCORDING THIS INFORMANT, ALL SEVEN PERSONS INVOLVED HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THEIR JOBS AT ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. THEY HAVE BEEN OFFERED NEW POSITIONS BUT NONE OF THEM HAS ACCEPTED, AS JOBS OFFERED ARE OF RATHER LOW ORDER, SUCH AS TRANSLATOR, LIBRARIAN, ETC. AGNES HELLER'S HUSBAND, LAST NAME, FEHER, HAS RESIGNED HIS ACADEMY JOB OUT OF SOLIDARITY WITH HIS WIFE.

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2. ORIGINS OF CASE GO BACK TO TIME OF INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1968. AT THAT TIME GROUP, WITH EXCEPTION HEGEDUS, WHO WAS NOT PRESENT MADE STATEMENT OPPOSING WARSAW PACT INVASION. ALL BUT HEGEDUS WERE IN YUGOSLAVIA AT THE TIME. SUBSEQUENTLY HEGEDUS ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THIS STATEMENT AND MADE HIS CRITICISMS KNOWN DIRECTLY TO THE PARTY. THIS HAS NEVER BEEN FORGOTTEN BY PARTY NEANDERTHALS, WHO, FOR REASONS DESCRIBED BELOW, THINK NOW IS A PROPITIOUS MOMENT FOR SETTLING AN OLD SCORE.

3. APPARENTLY TRIGGER FOR PARTY ACTION WAS SUBMISSION TO PUBLISHING HOUSE BY AGNES HELLER OF HER SEVEN- HUNDRED PAGE MANUSCRIPT WHICH DEALT WITH THE THEME: IS IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A RADICAL SOCIOLOGY IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?" UPON RECEIPT PUBLISHER IMMEDIATELY TURNED MANUSCRIPT OVER TO PARTY FOR EXAMINATION AND PARTY INQUIRY DESCRIBED REF A BEGAN. MATERIALS DESCRIBED REF B APPARENTLY THEN ADDED. ANOTHER PART OF ACCUSATION STEMS FROM VIEWS EXPRESSED BY HELLER IN A LECTURE AT YALE OR COLUMBIA IN 1971 (SEE REF B) THESE VIEWS HAVE BEEN WELL- KNOWN TO AUTHORITIES HERE FOR TWO YEARS, BUT ONLY NOW HAVE THEY BEEN USED AGAINST HELLER.

4. WHILE OPINIONS SUMMARIZED REF B ARE ANATHEMA TO PARTY, THEY AND OTHER DISSIDENT CONCEPTIONS HAVE BEEN IN CIRCULATION AMONG INTELLECTUALS HERE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS. YET PUNITIVE ACTION HAS COME ONLY NOW AND SO FAR IT HAS FOCUSED ONLY ON SEVEN PERSONS. THE REASONING BY OUR SOURCE IS THAT HUNGARIAN PARTY HAS BEEN UNDER PRESSURE FROM SOVIETS AND SOME OF EE COUNTRIES SINCE LAST FALL TO CRACK DOWN ON DEVIATION IN IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL SPHERES BUT HAD BEEN UNWILLING TO DO SO. THUS, ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN A PERCEPTIBLE TIGHTENING UP, INCLUDING, FOR EXAMPLE, GREATER WATCHFULNESS AIMED AT THOSE WHO HAVE CONTACT OR CORRESPONDENCE WITH AMERICANS, THERE HAS BEEN NO GENERAL CRACKDOWN. THE HEGEDUS CASE IS TO SERVE BOTH AS A WARNING TO HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS THAT THEY MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY ACCORDING TO THE " RULES OF THE GAME". AND THAT THERE CAN BE NO IDEOLOGICAL REAPPROCHMENT BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST SYSTEMS. THIS WAS THE MESSAGE CONVEYED RECENTLY IN BRIEFINGS ON THE CASE GIVEN AT VARIOUS INSTITUTES OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. IT IS ALSO CLEAR, CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCORDING OUR INFORMATION, THAT THE ACTION TAKEN AGAINST HEGEDUS SEVEN IS MEANT TO SHOW HUNGARY' S MORE HIDE- BOUND ALLIES THAT IT IS READY TO ACT AGAINST DEVIATIONS WHEN THEY CROP UP.

5. COMMENT: THE ABOVE INFORMATION CAME FROM AN INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE HEGEDUS

CASE AND WHO HEARD ONE OF THE BRIEFINGS GIVEN ON IT.
ALTHOUGH IT MAY NOT BE ACCURATE IN ALL DETAILS, WE CONSIDER
IT IN GENERAL TO BE VERY RELIABLE. WE HAVE HAD INDICATIONS
BEFORE OF A SLIGHTLY MORE RESTRICTED CULTURAL ATMOSPHERE
HERE SINCE BEFORE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF LAST
NOVEMBER. KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER GENERAL CULTURAL PURGE
IS IN OFFING. WE THINK THIS UNLIKELY AND, INDEED, UN-
NECESSARY, SINCE THE EXAMPLE OF DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST
HEGEDUS GROUP WOULD PRESUMABLY PROMPT OTHER DISSIDENTS TO
EXERCISE SELF- DISCIPLINE. IN SUCH CASE FURTHER OVERT ACTION
BY THE PARTY WOULD BE UNNECESSARY. WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT
AND SEE.
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